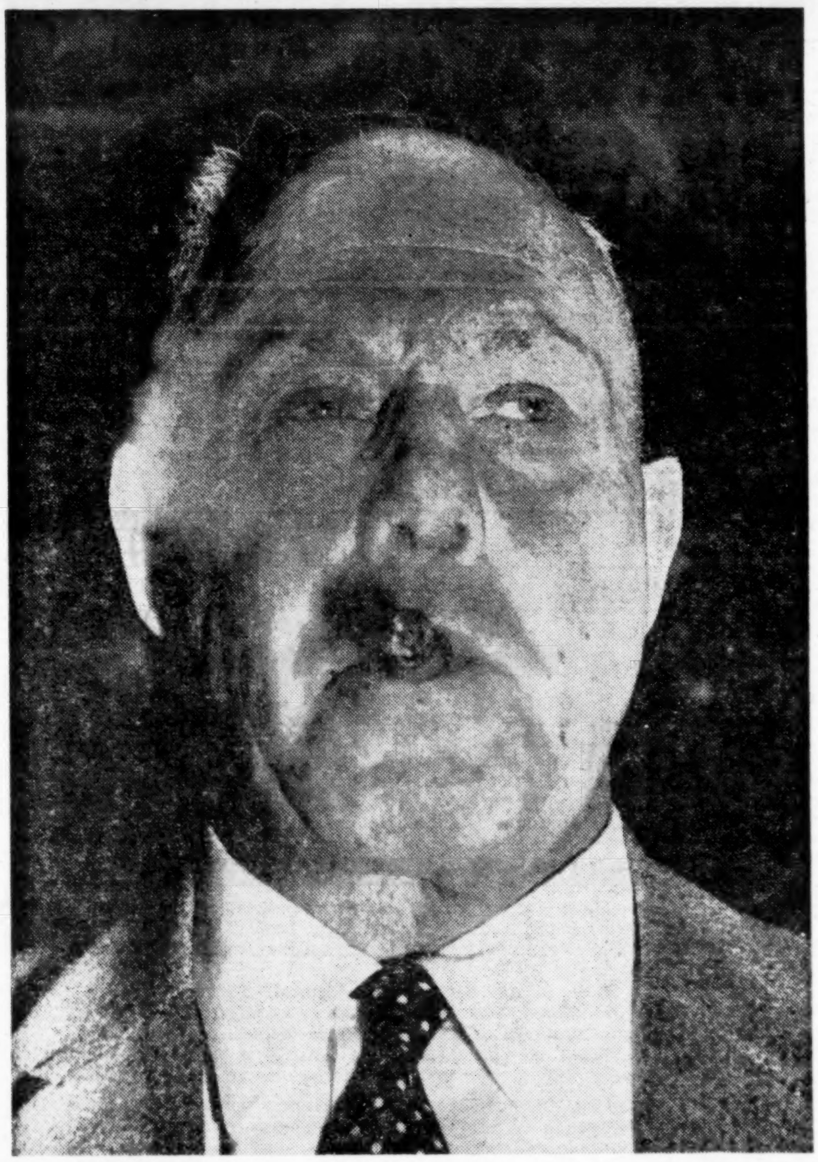

SMOKE GETS IN YOUR EYES WHEN YOU'RE IN DOUBT

AFL-CIO president George Meany and his executive council must soon face up to the question posed by the Teamsters Union: Can the government tell labor who shall or who shall not remain in the united federation—or will labor clean its own house of corruption in its own way? See below.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

10 cents

the progressive newsweekly

VOL. 9, No. 52 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 14, 1957

THE SOVIET 'MOON'

Dream into reality: Sputnik opens way to travel in space

By Elmer Bendiner

"A HUNK OF IRON almost anybody could launch." That was how Rear Adm. Rawson Bennett of the U.S. Office of Naval Research last week greeted the world's new moon. It was like calling man's first wheel a hoop that anyone might roll. The hunk of Soviet iron spinning around the world 15 times a day seemed to inaugurate an age of fantastic discoveries, but some men listened for the "beep" of its radio transmitters and mistrusted it profoundly. While opening up the cosmos the hunk of iron was shaking men long buried in the Cold War rut.

This is what happened: Close to midnight on Oct. 4, north of the Caspian Sea a rocket launcher went into action. Soviet Gen. G. Pokrovsky said it was a more powerful launcher than that used to fire the Intercontinental Guided Missile. From the rocket's tail hot gasses were shot out at tremendous speeds. What the fuel was that fired those gasses remained a Russian secret, but U.S. experts thought that liquid oxygen might have been used to make the fuel burn more fiercely.

ENGINES FALL AWAY: As the gasses streamed out, the rocket shot up, following the law of physics that says for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. Prof. Y. A. Pobedonostsev, writing in **Soviet Aviation**, described the rest of the launching: an engine inside the rocket, in from one to two minutes' time, boosted the speed to 4,340-4,650 m.p.h.

The rocket had been rising straight up. One mile above the earth its path began to curve from the vertical. When it was flying at an angle of 45 degrees from the earth's surface, the first engine fell away and a second rocket engine took over, boosting the speed to perhaps as high as 12,400 m.p.h. When the rocket's path ran parallel to the earth surface, the second engine fell away and a third engine blasted its hot fuels into outer space, sending all that was left of the rocket—the 184-pound "hunk of iron" on its way at 18,000 m.p.h. It was then 625 miles away

(Continued on Page 8)

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Ain't it queer up here without Dulles?"

THEY RESENTED OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE

Why the Teamsters Union elected Jimmy Hoffa

By Lawrence Emery

TEAMSTER DELEGATES to their union's convention in Miami Beach, under attack from all quarters—the government, their parent organization, churches, and self-righteous battlers against sin—thumbed their noses at all critics last week. They began their proceedings with a band playing "When the Saints Go Marching In," and wound it up electing as their president James R. Hoffa, who stands accused as labor's greatest wrong-doer. The vote was an overwhelming 3 to 1 on the first ballot.

The vote was 1,208 for Hoffa, 313 for William A. Lee and 140 for Thomas J. Haggerty, both of Chicago. Thomas L. Hickey of New York and Frank W. Brewster of Seattle, Hoffa opponents, were defeated in their bid for reelection as vice presidents.

To all reformers, the result seemed a triumph of wickedness and would be so punished, most likely by expulsion of the teamsters from the AFL-CIO. But the outcome was an almost natural reaction of tough men in a tough industry who objected to being told how to run their affairs by an anti-labor Senate committee and a labor leadership which seemingly endorsed governmental intervention in union affairs.

INDICTMENT READ: The convention was James Hoffa's show from the start and the dominant note throughout was one of total defiance of all who seemed to be proving their own purity by denouncing the depravity of the teamsters. John F. English, secy.-treas. of the teamsters and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, got a standing ovation when he said federation leaders could "all go straight to hell" if they didn't want his union. He added: "We will never withdraw from the AFL-CIO, but if they kick us out we will not be in a hurry going back."

On the third day of the convention,

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REPORT TO READERS

This is Volume 9, Number 52 of your paper

WITH THIS ISSUE, Volume 9, Number 52, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN completes nine years of publication and next week we enter our tenth.

We are profoundly grateful to you, the present reader, and to thousands of others who have helped sustain the GUARDIAN through the past years, for the opportunity you have given us.

Independent publications devoted to peace and rights are a rarity in our country and cannot exist unless they are reader-backed. The confidence expressed in the reader-backing this paper has had through these tense and critical years has been the most buoyant factor in the GUARDIAN's existence. The attacks which were bound to come in reprisal for our opposition to the Korean War, and for unmasking the tragic injustice of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, could only have been weathered with the encouragement of a resolute, unintimidated readership. This you most certainly have been.

WE TURN TEN with the conviction that the worst is over but that the big job lies ahead. It is the job of stacking the arms and working to win the nation's concurrence in the fields of full rights and economic security as it has been won for the concept of peace. We ask your continued confidence and encouragement for this work.

We'll have more to say on the GUARDIAN's role in approaching these new horizons as our Volume Ten unfolds. For now, we state our belief that the good conscience of the nation is turning toward the task of assuring human rights and civil liberty, which we view as the essential stepping stones to lasting economic well-being. Our best efforts will be devoted to providing information and stimulus for advancing toward these objectives.

THE OLD SAYING IS that the first ten years are the hardest. Yet of the nine through which the GUARDIAN has passed there is scarcely one—not even rugged 1950 or 1955, when we were forced to surrender our editor into exile—which does not abound in pleasurable recollection.

Our budding months were those of the '48 Wallace-Taylor campaign and, for what we hoped the GUARDIAN might become, we could not have asked a more benign climate. Money, of course, we

(Continued on Page 2)

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THE MAIL BAG

Alternatives

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

One undeniable conclusion emerges from the challenge of any one state to the Federal Government. Either it will be integration or disintegration.

William J. Lovinger

Like Ike

NEW YORK, N. Y.

So Faubus thumbs his nose at Ike
And that his teen-age lynchers like!
He shouts the felons must be free
To ply their trade quite orderly!
Disorder's something he don't like
So Faubus thumbs his nose at Ike.

Veni Vidi

Good question

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Evidently, President Eisenhower couln't go down to Little Rock in person to take Negro kids by the hands and walk with them into Central High. But where were Billy Graham, Bishop Fulton Sheen and the Rev. Vincent Peale? Making Life Worth Living? Spreading Peace of Mind? Where? In Little Rock???

Bodo Ohly

Who's behind Billy?

STAMFORD, CONN.

It should be important to know who is behind the "Billy Graham Crusade"—who is really pushing it—to what purpose—and who is so closely associated with it. And whether the evangelist would not have, with all his "pep," great chance to do something even "more useful" in the very state where he comes from: North Carolina!

J. L. Fisher

On planet Earth

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Anyone lately arrived from outer space might naively claim, as does George Kauffman (Mailbag 9/9), that American capitalism guarantees the right to strike, a secret ballot and to form "as many political parties as anyone desires."

Let us look at reality in the USA sector of the planet Earth: Freedom to strike is conditioned by police clubs, company arsenals, hired thugs, scabs, injunctions and laws like the Taft-Hartley and the 18 State right-to-scab laws. Latest example of a major union is the longshoremen whose strike last fall was broken by court order under the T-H law.

As to a secret ballot, G.K. might ask a Southern Negro or refer to the Los Angeles **Times** (12/1/56), which said editorially: "17 million Americans were unable to cast their ballots in the last national elections (1956) because of legal barriers . . ."

It is strange that having been in the class struggle he has not learned that capitalism will tolerate only a party that serves its interests and that it can control. The rocky political road is lined with the wreckage of independent parties from before the Populists to the latest casualty, the Progressive Party. They were slaughtered by a capitalist barrage of lies and smears; strangled in a maze of ballot restrictions; their candidates and organizers hounded and blacklisted, denied the radio and press and starved for lack of votes and funds from intimidated supporters.

No one need support socialism, capitalism or the USSR to struggle for the fulfillment of these basic American rights. But friend Kauffman cannot logically struggle for them and at the same time support an economic system that denies or curbs them as experience has amply proven.

Jeff Patrick

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Friend of mine who fears reprisals sends word of a new club, Communists Anonymous, for reformed Communists who, when weakening in the middle of the night, can call up a friend to come over with some money.

—Douglass Watt's column, N.Y. Daily News, 10/4

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. B., New York, N.Y.

Galloping automation

SHREVEPORT, LA.

At a conservative estimate about a half million workers have been displaced this year by automation. Next year will see another million replaced and 10 years will see automation taking over all the major industries. Those who do not adopt it will cease to exist. So industry after industry adopts automation, a creeping fear seizes all as they ask, "Whose turn will be next?" Experience and seniority go into the trash can overnight and socialism becomes not such a dirty word as it used to be.

E. W.

A worthy schoo'

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Metropolitan Music School, 18 W. 74th St., has been in existence for many years. I have been connected with it almost since its inception. During this time the school has offered courses of excellent quality both in its children's and adult education departments. As a matter of fact the children's department offers classes to tots of 4 years and above. The school has a dance and drama department, choruses for children and adults and gives individual instruction in practically all instruments and voice. This instruction is supplemented by courses in theory and harmony, as well as music appreciation.

I have been interested in the school because it has offered so many part and full scholarships, and has attempted to pay special attention to the needs of the Negro and Latin-American students.

It is more important now than ever, after the unfounded attacks by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that the life of this school be guaranteed. You can help by encouraging registration with the least possible delay.

Wallingford Riegger

Wallingford Riegger is the distinguished American composer who told the Un-American Committee it would be beneath his dignity to answer their questions. And he didn't.—Editor.

Stop the stupidity

UPLAND, CALIF.

The one and obvious thing for the U.S. to do to stop immediately this stupid, murderous TESTING of atomic bombs, is to notify the world that we will stop all bomb-TESTING immediately Russia and Britain agree to do likewise! There will be no conditions, no inspection, no reference whatsoever to the other phases of nuclear-bomb production. Manifestly, everyone will know, INSTANTLY, if anyone of us breaks the agreement.

Franklin Baxter

Wall Street Journal

"Go take their dessert order now. He's nearly at the punch line."

Smith Act case

DETROIT, MICH.

By order of the U.S. Supreme Court, the Smith Act convictions of six Michigan Communist leaders will be reconsidered by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati on Oct. 16. The Supreme Court deserves backing now when segregationists and witch hunters are doing their best to smear and intimidate it. If you wish to help, you can assist materially by writing a letter to U.S. District Attorney Fred Kaess, Federal Building, Detroit 26, suggesting that the government drop the case against the Michigan Smith Act defendants, as the District Attorney in Pittsburgh has already done in the Pennsylvania Smith Act case, and as the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled in the Connecticut case. Write to your community newspaper, too.

Financial assistance is needed to help meet the continuing expense of defense. Please send your contribution and (if convenient) a copy of your letter to Mr. Kaess to us at the address below and to the press.

—**Jack Raskin**, Chairman, Liberties Appeal Committee, P.O. Box 715, Detroit 6, Mich.

Well, they have Belfrage

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

Renew my sub to the GUARDIAN for another 12 months. I've had it for six months as a "trial" and it has really convinced me that it is a first-class paper. If only we had such a paper here!

We had the Weavers' record from the Guardian Buying Service and, although it arrived with five songs chipped off in transit, the rest was well worth the trouble.

S. R. Broadledge

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom one guinea a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $4 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 9, No. 52 401 October 14, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Volume 9, Number 52

(Continued from Page 1)

had none of. Friendly printers and a handful of well-wishers helped get out a trial issue and a few stacks of advance flyers.

The subs came rolling in for a non-existent paper. "One Buck for Honest News," the slogan was. Armed with armfuls of prospective readers, we begged, borrowed and got pledges for about $15,000 and plunged through to Volume 1, Number 1 on Oct. 18, 1948.

The money was calculated to give us a six- or eight-week start, including printing of thousands of extra papers and mailing them under penny post to every list we could lay our hands on.

"Have You Got Four Friends?" we asked, in the most stentorian type we could find: "Sign Them Up Today." The subs were $1 for 13 weeks (our starting price was $4 a year, but few gambled for the full year.)

So we printed a "Last Ditch Appeal." The response was simply terrific. Money to go on came from every corner of the country. One of the hundreds of letters called us to task.

"What do you mean, 'Last Ditch'," it said, along with $10. "You're only at your first ditch!"

AMONG OUR "FIRST DITCH" rescuers, with a telegram demanding that we hold on for dear life, was the late great and good Anita McCormick Blaine of Chicago. An inheritor, like her cousin Robert McCormick of the Chicago **Tribune**, of a share of the McCormick reaper fortune, Mrs. Blaine at 80 had been a lifelong worker for peace and human rights. She had been a fervent supporter of the Wallace-Taylor campaign. On reading our appeal, she invited the GUARDIAN editors to come out and talk things over.

In her vast Victorian parlor on East Erie St., Mrs. Blaine heard the GUARDIAN's story and agreed to help. Thereafter, for most of 1949, Mrs. Blaine's parlor was almost a fortnightly branch office of the GUARDIAN. She had a deep concern about the state of the U.S. press and, in addition to helping the GUARDIAN, wanted to know how she could do more.

One afternoon we unfolded to her the idea of a Free Press Foundation, based on an observation by Alexander Meiklejohn that a truly free press should be free of economic concerns—in other words, not dependent on advertisers who tend to fashion the viewpoints of the press they support.

Mrs. Blaine listened intently to the plan: a foundation with a board of prominent administrators which would be authorized to make grants to set up weekly newspapers throughout the country devoted to peace, jobs and rights. We believed that able newspapermen and women all over the country would grasp at the opportunity; and also that a national "grass-roots" wire service might be developed to give meaningful competition to the news-gathering monopolies which had consistently ignored news of people's real struggles for human rights and economic well-being.

"I can't give you my answer in three minutes," she said. "I might take five."

We suggested a larger meeting of other people whose judgment she might want. Within a week the wires buzzed with telegrams and late in the summer of 1949 such a meeting was held.

At the meeting many ideas were discussed in addition to the Foundation proposal, including one advanced by Mrs. Blaine herself for a daily paper in Chicago to oppose her cousin's paper, the **Tribune**.

Advised against such a venture, which alone might have cost millions just to get started, Mrs. Blaine was visibly disappointed.

"Oh, dear," she sighed, "can't we give Bertie a little bump?"

That meeting recessed with plans to reconvene but Mrs. Blaine fell ill and never recovered sufficiently to continue the discussions. Bertie never got his bump; and our Foundation idea is still there, awaiting a sponsor.

THE YEARS SINCE 1949 have been rough and tough but eternally rewarding to a group of newspaper people trying with figurative pennies to provide an antidote to the million-dollar U.S. press. In 1950 the war drive, of which the progressive movement warned, reached the shooting stage. Vindictive repression of all who opposed resulted in a falling off of readership. It was a time to tighten the belt, and tighten we did. For a year the GUARDIAN staff took half pay or less. All who could possibly stick did—and indeed today's GUARDIAN staff still includes most of the venturesome handful who put out Volume 1, Number 1 nine years ago on Oct. 18.

We're older; we hope wiser, too; we have tasted anguish but much fulfillment—and if you ask us today what we think about it all we'd have to answer in the words of the lovable Weavers' song: "Oh, Lord, we'd do it again."

—THE GUARDIAN

BATTLE OF ARKANSAS

People turn on Faubus in Little Rock

AN ALL-OUT EFFORT by Little Rock segregationists to organize a boycott of Central High School on Oct. 3 was a dismal failure, with less than 60 students leaving their classes. Throughout the week school attendance rose steadily and, by Oct. 7, 1,733 students out of a total enrollment of 1,990 were at school, the highest mark since Federal troops were assigned to protect nine Negro students at the school.

Civic leaders and clergymen of Little Rock spoke out during the week in support of "government by law and order" and Sunday, Oct. 6, was designated a day of prayer by all denominations in the city. But the next day Gov. Orval E. Faubus reacted to the calm and quiet by charging that Federal troops inside the school were following girl students into their dressing rooms.

"UNTRUE AND VULGAR:" The accusation was promptly denied and was denounced in Washington by Presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty as "completely untrue and completely vulgar." Secy. of the Army Wilbur M. Brucker said: "Gov. Faubus' unsupported charge has all the earmarks of desperation and is an unworthy attempt to defame our American soldiers at Little Rock." Following release of his provocative charge, the Governor was described by the New York **Times** as remaining "incommunicado." Earlier he had likened himself to Gen. Robert E. Lee and said: "The Democratic Party of the North wants me to go along with them on the integration issue. I will remain with the people of Arkansas."

But the people of Arkansas seemed better represented by the 24 leading citizens of Little Rock who called on their fellows to "uphold those who enforce laws without reservation." The Arkansas **Gazette** said editorially that the 24 were "giving voice to the views of the vast, silent majority."

GUESS WHO SHOWED UP IN WASHINGTON WHEN THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS ARRIVED
John Kasper, rabid segregationist, pickets White House as a Negro policeman stands by

LESS THAN 1 P.C.: The Central High School student paper also disputed the Governor's stand and said that "less than 1% of the population of Little Rock was in the crowd of people gathered in front of C.H.S. when school opened Monday morning, Sept. 23," and added that many in the crowd "were not citizens of Little Rock." The editorial said:

"Again it is the case where a minority group controlled the actions and even the thoughts of the majority. Wouldn't it be better for the parents, townsmen and strangers to let the law take its course and seek a remedy of the situation in some other way?"

Gov. Faubus had earlier disrupted an effort at conciliation by four Southern governors who worked out a compromise with President Eisenhower under which Federal troops might have been withdrawn from Little Rock. The plan called for Faubus to pledge publicly that he would maintain law and order and would not permit obstruction of the Federal court order to integrate Central High School. But the governor rewrote the text of his pledge in such a way that it was rejected by the President.

IS FAUBUS ALONE? Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland, the only Republican on the governors' committee that met with the President said: "Gov. Faubus now stands as the only man of prominence in all of America who wants the troops of the Federal government kept in Little Rock. By his ignominious double crossing of the [governor's committee] . . . Gov. Faubus has elected to pile infamy on the heap of disgrace which he has inflicted on the great state of Arkansas." On Oct. 6 a cross was burned in front of Gov. McKeldin's mansion and these signs were posted: "Down with traitor McKeldin" and "Save our Southern way of life."

Meanwhile demands were growing that the White House make public an FBI report of events leading up to the Little Rock riot. Jack Anderson, junior partner of columnist Drew Pearson, wrote on Sept. 29 that "evidence has been uncovered that Faubus' office secretly helped recruit the mob in order to foment the trouble he had predicted. Whether the governor was personally implicated, however, has not been established." On Oct. 6 Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) called for the release of the FBI report and denounced Faubus for his "utter perfidy" and "eel-like treachery."

GOP IN TROUBLE: The political repercussions of the Little Rock situation were growing. Throughout the South the Republican Party was in deep trouble and there were several resignations of prominent leaders. Democratic Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, in an article in **The Nation** magazine, challenged "the majority" of his party to support the Supreme Court integration decision and said that stand must be taken whether it results in "political gain or political disaster." But Thurgood Marshall, chief counselor of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, predicted a switch of Negro votes to the Republican Party. He said: "I don't see anything that the Democrats have done in the field of civil rights that will go to their credit."

Although President Eisenhower's Oct. 3 press conference was taken up almost solely with the Little Rock issue, he declared that the problem is not school integration, but only the sanctity of the courts. He said: "The courts must be sustained or it's not America."

DAY OF PRAYER: As for his own role, he said: "Now, the leadership of the White House can be exercised only, as I see it, through giving the convictions of the President and exhorting citizens to remember America as well as their own private prejudices." On the question of integration generally, he said: "There is a very great division on the destiny of the races in the United States, how they should act, particularly when we come into the social aspects of our lives as opposed merely to the economic and legal." To date, the President has never publicly defended the right of Negroes to attend unsegregated schools.

In Little Rock itself all seemed calm by Oct. 8. Forty clergymen of many faiths were promoting a "ministry of reconciliation" and designated Columbus Day, Oct. 12, for special prayers for "law and order and understanding and compassion." Meanwhile Gov. Faubus formally filed notice of appeal against the Federal court injunction against his use of the National Guard to keep Negroes out of Central High School. There was also a hint of economic trouble for the state: Winthrop Rockefeller, a leader in the drive to attract new industries to Arkansas, said on Oct. 4: "I regard the events of the past month as tragic."

ORDER YOUR HOLIDAY CARDS EARLY. SEE AD ON PAGE 5.

IN SAN FRANCISCO ELECTIONS

Hallinan indorses SWP candidates

Special to the Guardian
SAN FRANCISCO

VINCENT HALLINAN, Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, last week announced his support for Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan for the Board of Supervisors in the Nov. 5 election in San Francisco. A statement of support also came last week from Warren K. Billings, co-defendant with Tom Mooney in the infamous Mooney-Billings trial. Both candidates have been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, which is also running a slate of candidates, headed by Joyce Cowley for Mayor in New York City and Sarah Lovell for Mayor in Detroit.

Barbaria, an electrician, has run twice for Supervisor (in 1955 he polled 18,000 votes) and once for Mayor. This is the first try for public office for Mrs. Jordan, who is a lithograph worker. In their campaign statements the two have said frankly that they seek to build an independent labor party. They said: "The fiction of non-partisan elections is the perfect camouflage to hide the fact that there is no real difference between the two [major] parties. . . . We believe in the socialist future of America and the ability of the workers to achieve that future."

WHAT THEY GET: In his statement Hallinan said: "In the English Parliament there are numerous ordinary working people, such as 33 miners, 12 engineers, three dock workers, etc. These constitute the political force which arrested colonialism and militarism and which fights for public medicine, cheap housing and socialism—in other words, for the welfare of all.

"In America, on the other hand, the working people elect business owners, lawyers and insurance brokers to represent them. They then get what they should expect from such law-makers.

"Frank Barbaria is an electrician, a socialist, a member of the NAACP, and a long time fighter in the ranks of organized labor. Joan Jordan is a lithographer, labor union stalwart, NAACP member and mother of three children. She is, likewise, a socialist.

"These introduce a strange note in American politics: that is, they come out directly for public housing, a municipal power system, an FEPC with teeth in it, trade with China, and acquisition by the City of all public utilities. The classic political device is to pussy-foot on such issues.

"Whether such honesty pays off remains to be seen. It would be a hopeful sign if the San Francisco working people would recognize who are their friends and give Mrs. Jordan and Mr. Barbaria a chance to fight for the general welfare."

Hallinan Speaks in N.Y.

Vincent Hallinan will be the principal speaker at an election rally in support of Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, at the Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave., New York, Fri. eve., Oct. 28 at 8 p.m.

BELFRAGE FROM CHINA

Buddha heads and giant dams

By Cedric Belfrage

LOYANG, CHINA

WE ARE FOLLOWING in the footsteps of Chiang Kai-shek, who thinks China yearns for him, and of the assorted imperialists who for a century raped and ravaged their way across this land. In Sian we saw the hot-springs hideaway where Chiang was kidnapped in the '30's to try to make him resist the Japanese. In this city—China's capital through nine dynasties, and again briefly in Kuomintang days—we rejoin the Yellow River after its long trek into Inner Mongolia and back. And we visit the home (now a hotel) overlooking Dragon Gate gorge from which Chiang ruled again after he promised to behave like a Chinese.

Across from it, the cliff of the gorge is tunneled with 2,000 caves which are among the wonders of the world. In them 100,000 Buddhas from giant to vest-pocket size, and many other figures from angels to lions, were carved by unknown masters out of the rock-face between about 500 and 1,000 A.D. Some 50 years ago, as shown in photos of that time, these magnificent carvings were almost intact; since then nearly all but the very largest have been smashed or stolen.

WESTERN VANDALISM: The heads of the small Buddhas have all gone. In some caves, outlines of hacked-off carvings are hung over the chisel-scarred rock to show what was there. In others, large signs give dates and details of the robberies, and one comments: "Damn the American imperialists!"

Nobody knows who took most of the swag, and when; two of the stolen Buddha heads turned up in Tokyo University's history dept., and the caves' curator also implicates the French. Americans, Japanese, French—such is his repeated theme. I ask if the British were innocent, and he says: "Oh no, of course them too."

Unlike Goering's European loot, these art treasures can never be replaced as they were, even if they can be recovered. This is another indictment of Chiang, who either didn't trouble to guard them or permitted active connivance in their removal by his cops and/or soldiers. It is also a most spectacular demonstration of the meaning of imperialism on one level. It is rather childish for the West to place this word mockingly within quotes. For the Chinese it means not only sickening vandalism but massacre, death by starvation, rape, corruption and filth on a scale unimaginable to us.

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS: In Loyang the people console themselves with the fact that in their city China's first tractor factory is almost ready to roll: over a million sq. yards of plant and workers' homes and facilities begun just two years ago. A similar-sized mining-machinery plant adjoins; previously Loyang had no industry at all.

These plants, bringing new life to the ancient, oppressed capital and new muscles to China, were built with Soviet help. For Loyang citizens, "Soviet imperialism" is not the most meaningful of phrases. It is impossible not to marvel at the friendliness with which they greet a Western face today. Can it be that they really believe their own propaganda that all the world's peoples are brothers?

Fresh out of books to read on trains and planes, I search the big bookstores' shelves for something I can understand. The only book in English is **The Management of Abdominal Operations**, in two volumes . . .

SANMEN GORGE

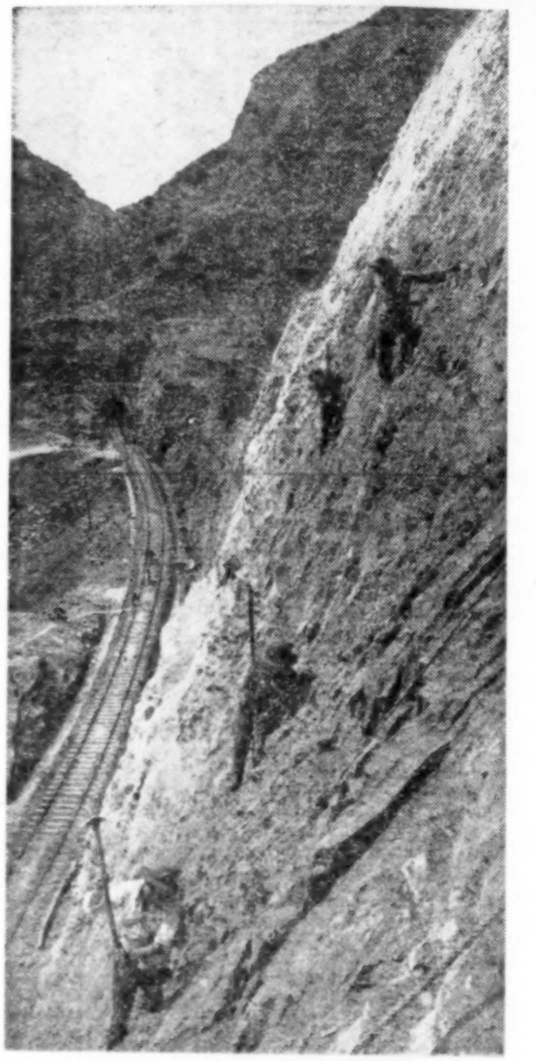
HOW MANY AMERICANS think that they—or at least the "white race"—have a monopoly on king-sized conception and execution of engineering projects? They should visit, in Peking, the 350-odd Chinese engineers finishing plans for the world's biggest water-power and controlled irrigation project at Ichang on the Yangtze. (It was expanded, said an engineer here, from an American TVA engineer's plan in Kuomintang days for "something just big enough to make fertilizer for profit.") Or they might consider what is happening in this rocky, legend-haunted gorge as part of the plan to harness the Yellow River for the benefit of the people whom it has for centuries terrorized.

The river has constantly changed its course and, in the past 100 years, has breached the dykes 200 times, with constantly worsening floods as silt piled up. At other seasons the flow dwindles to a trickle. Always there is either a disastrous excess of water for the farmers, or almost none.

A KING-SIZE PROJECT: In 1954 Soviet and Chinese engineers surveyed the whole river and a comprehensive 46-project plan was devised. The whole water- and soil-conservation scheme will take 50 years to complete. Here at Sanmen Gorge work began last April on the first major project: a dam with over a million kilowatt turbine capacity, which will form a 1,470 sq.-mile lake displacing 870,000 people. Most of the eight turbines will be made in China. In six years, the big dam will be finished.

Frontier-style, around the whistlestop railroad station 13 miles from the gorge, an administration and workers' housing city has been raised out of dusty nothingness. There, we talk with a pidgin-fluent Bret Harte type, a former Dollar Line chef brought from Shanghai to cook for the handful of foreigners; with a pleasant trio of Soviet specialists, and with an eager young journalist who will start a community newspaper when he has a roof to do it under. The smoothest road I've traversed in China cuts through grotesquely eroded hills, with people living in caves cut in their sides, to the damsite where housing for thousands more workers (there will be 12,000 at the peak) has sprung up.

A VAST OPERA: An army of men and women—with pride dominating weariness on their faces—work feverishly around the clock with everything from shoulder-baskets to West and East German cranes and Soviet excavators which serve five-ton helpings of rock into Czech dump-trucks. Lost somewhere in the vast construction-site panorama, two villages built mostly of mud struggle with dazed expressions to carry on peasantry-as-usual. Over the whole hectic scene, traditional Peking Opera music wails and boing-boings through the gorge from a loudspeaker.



ONCE THEY BUILT A RAILROAD . . .
. . . and opened China up, frontier style

"The workers like this music better than anything," says the engineer showing us around; "they understand it, but I don't." He points out the mistake they made in buying wooden-bodied trucks which don't stand the strain: "We have no experience—this year we buy steel ones." Bulldozers and excavators are being operated not too expertly, with a youth or girl riding in each to get the hang of it from another who learned it but recently. "These workers," says the engineer, "have no experience yet—they are 20-year-olds. It takes a little time."

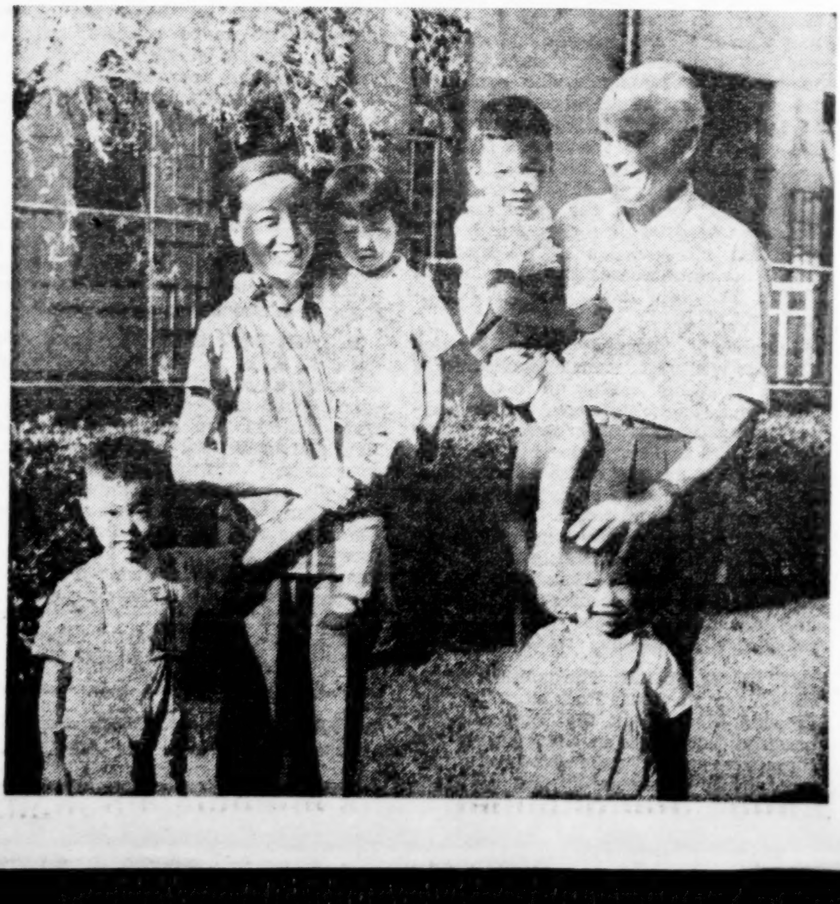
NEW DISCOVERIES: When I ask about engineers' rectification sessions, he says they had some but "we've not found any rectification necessary," although most engineers are still of bourgeois stock. For them this regime is the one of their dreams:

"Before liberation there was only one water-power station in China, and no permanent flood-control engineering was ever done, although taxes were extorted for it. But think what this project alone means: below here live 80 to 100 million people, on farms in constant threat of flood since thousands of years ago. In Kuomintang days, the job of supervising rivers was considered tops of them all for graft. Our approach now isn't profit but developing all our natural resources to the greatest extent for the widest benefit. Anyone can see this is only possible under socialism."

"NOTHING MUCH NEW": Near the site of the dam-project administration town, archeologists show us discoveries made in testing for foundations of the new buildings. Three 2,800-year-old chariots each yoked to two horses, found in one pit, indicate that royalty is buried nearby. Other diggings have uncovered skeletons and hundreds of bronze and pottery objects of the same period—cooking pots, musical bells, dishes—and jades, bracelets, strings of shell money. New China's ferment of construction is bringing up, in one unexpected place after another, a new treasurehouse of ancient culture sufficient to fill dozens of museums.

As we settle down once more in a train compartment, my interpreter-guide Tsai Shen-ling reads the paper and I ask him: "What's new?" If he doesn't tell me, I'll never know.

"Nothing much," says Tsai. "Seventy million kids are going to middle and primary schools this month. In Shantung province where the Yellow River has just been in flood, all the provincial government leaders led the fight to control it, the Food Ministry dropped supplies by plane, and most of the crops have been saved. The Heilung River flood in the northeast is still rising, but the local CP secretary has mobilized 400,000 flood-fighters, and the army is there with food and timber."



BEAMING BELFRAGE

The Guardian's editor-in-exile always had a soft spot for kids (and vice versa). Above, he is shown with the family of his interpreter-guide Tsai Shen-ling.

THIS IS SUBLIMINAL PROJECTION

'Hidden persuaders' enter the American subconscious

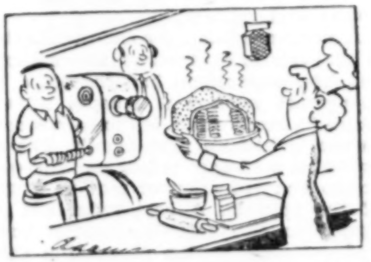
JAMES M. VICARY, head of the Subliminal Projection Co., told the GUARDIAN last week: "I have a conscience."

The reassurance was necessary because Vicary is the inventor and chief promoter of a technique for television commercials that promises to render them less boring but far more insidious. He proposes to gain access, for those sponsors who buy his patented technique, to the viewer's subconscious. Against his technique there is no known defense.

A theory holds that there is a threshhold between the conscious and the subconscious and Vicary has succeeded in crossing it. The victim can't throw the salesman out because he doesn't know he's there: he can't shut the commercial off because it's invisible. Vicary announced his invasion of man's last private realm with the same triumphant detachment held by those who smashed the atom. He said: "It's here. It's all a matter of how do we live with it."

1/3000 OF A SECOND: Subliminal projection is a system of flashing very simple direct messages on a television screen so fast that the human brain cannot record them but so frequently that they sink into the subconscious. Throughout a program—whether a comedy hour, drama or old movie—the message would go on. It would stay on the screen 1/3000 of a second so that no one can possibly detect it. It would be repeated once every five seconds, or 360 times in a half-hour program. This, says Vicary, registers on the subconscious.

It was tested in a New Jersey movie theater last year over a six-week period. While the audience, totally unaware of what was happening, watched the movie, the simple message, "Eat popcorn," was being dropped into their subconscious. Result: popcorn sales in the theater went



Tit Bits, London

up 57%. On some nights the word "Coca Cola" was tried. Coke consumption rose 18%. The pop-corn eaters and the coke drinkers never knew what hit them. Now subliminal projection is ready for the home screen. Patents have been applied for. Sponsors are interested, says Vicary.

WHAT ABOUT POLITICS? Vicary denies any Svengali powers. He says his invention cannot make anybody do anything he doesn't want to do. It won't make a non-smoker buy a pack of cigarettes, for instance, because non-smokers would have a much higher threshhold on the subject, so that any messages to the subconscious would have little chance of surfacing. He insists that subliminal advertising will merely prompt a person to do something he is inclined to do but might never get around to.

What about political uses? he was asked. Shouldn't there be some ban on a politician's power to manipulate a voter's subconscious? Vicary thought not. He said it touched the right of free speech. "The right of inaudible speech and invisible assembly?" the GUARDIAN asked.

Vicary said: "We're not excluding anybody who wants to use it." He thought it could be a tool for democracy where the problem is to get out the vote. He said a kick in the subconscious was more effective than doorbell ringing. But he doubted that any amount of tinkering with the subconscious could switch a man's vote from one candidate to another.

"How about the vast undecided vote?" he was asked. Vicary said his researches (he also heads a market research company) showed that there were far fewer actually undecided people than polls indicated. Most have an unconscious bent one way or the other, he said, and subliminal advertising would merely nudge that hidden tendency into a vote.

"SOCIAL IMMORALITY": Vance Packard, author of **The Hidden Persuaders,** which deals with less devious attacks on the buyer, told TV interviewer Mike Wallace he was "shocked" at subliminal advertising. He said man was being viewed as "a passive tool to be manipulated. . . . I do think it should be outlawed. It is an appalling social immorality. This is a technique for Goebbels—and not for a business man or a politician in a democracy." Packard feared that the "people involved in this project may be powerful enough to block restrictive legislation."

When Vicary was asked about the necessity of some restrictions on his power other than his conscience, he readily agreed that some licensing procedure ought to be worked out. "But how do you license something you can't see, feel or hear?" he was asked.

He said he could tell the proper authorities just how to go about that, but was having some difficulty finding the proper authority. The Federal Communications Commission seemed only interested in seeing that no one stepped on anyone else's wave length and wasn't the least interested in the content of a message. On the other hand the Federal Trade Commission was interested in the content but not at all interested in how the message was transmitted.

SHUT IT OFF: Vicary said he would favor licensing provisions that would require every program carrying hidden commercials to so inform the viewer. It could be done by some insignia that might be flashed on at the beginning of a program, he thought.

Those who wanted to cover up their subconscious could then switch off the TV. Another use was suggested for subliminal advertising in unseen backdrops that might accompany visible commercials. These might be so stimulating and pleasurable, it was suggested, that cars or deodorants would take on an unexplained attractiveness by virtue of association.

Vicary thought that proper supervision could clean up any invisible improprieties.

PUNCH-DRUNK: Subliminal invaders have disclaimed sinister powers of persuasion and insist they can do no more than a persistent jingle that sometimes rattles in one's head. Even that, though, has grim prospects.

Mark Twain wrote of the cursed jingle with the chorus: "Punch, brothers, punch with care—Punch in the presence of the passenjare." He carried it around in his head for days, was made sleepless by it, recited it to the rhythm of every train he rode, then passed it on to a minister who later officiated at a funeral. A bereaved relative asked the minister what the departed's last words were. The stricken minister answered:

"He said—he said—he never said anything but 'Punch, punch, punch in the presence of the passenjare . . .'"

—Elmer Bendiner

A. T. & T. TO GIVE BLOOD

N.Y. Times headline, 9/28

This proves they have a heart

Did you say ten cents?

•

"HOW," YOU SAY, "can you afford to sell those exquisite holiday cards at ten cents a card?" Well, you know the answer to that. We lose a little on every sale, but we make it up on the volume.

An old gag, huh? But it gives us a chance to play up a point. There's no holiday card anywhere in this country printed in four colors on heavy stock selling for ten cents! Even the commonplace dime-store cards are 15 cents and up and they are not in full color or on good paper.

Our Chittaprosad cards are not commonplace. They are uniquely beautiful. From many who sent them out last season we received bouquets and requests to re-offer them this year. Some people explained they got calls from friends who had received the cards asking where they could be bought.

Because the major expense of making the color plates was incurred last year, we can offer the cards at a rock-bottom price of $1 a set of ten.

To refresh your memory, the designs are reproduced on the left. They were drawn expressly for us by the noted artist Chittaprosed in India. They were produced by the famous Knudsen Process, by expensive technique used by museums for accurate color reproductions of paintings.

The cards are available only in sets of ten (two each of five designs). Last year they were $2 a set; now we are offering them at the amazing price of

$1 A SET, POSTPAID

First come, first served, so hurry!

•

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

Enclosed $.............. Please send me

..............sets of Fine Art Holiday Cards.

Name ....

Address ....

City ....

Zone .... State ....

KERALA: INDIA'S COMMUNIST-RULED STATE—II

Land reform is key to economic misery

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

COCHIN, KERALA

"YOU HAVE NO IDEA what is happening in this state," a group of Congress Party members of the Kerala legislature told me in Trivandrum. "Lawlessness is rampant. People are afraid to walk the streets. There is no security of persons or property. Why, a landlord may wake up in the morning to find squatters have built huts on his land overnight. The government won't let him evict them."

In nearly three weeks of travelling through Kerala, India's first state with an elected Communist government, I found no sign of this alleged lawlessness. Even plantation managers I interviewed conceded that all was peaceful in their districts.

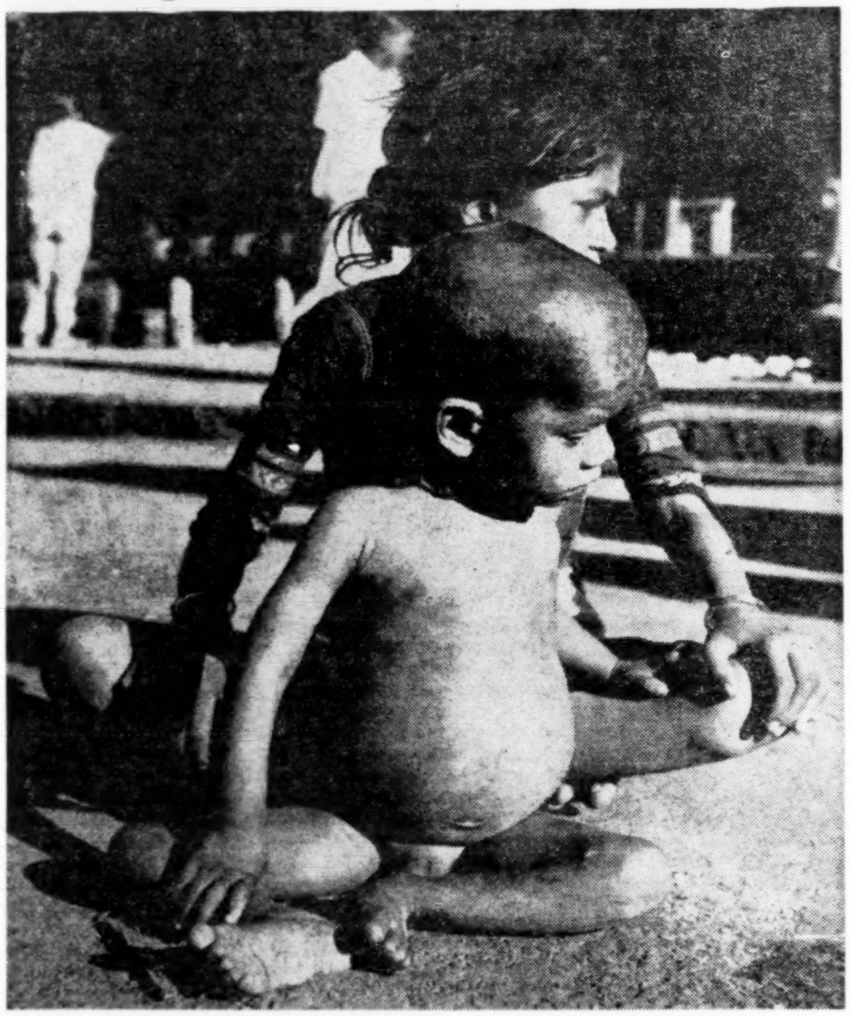
The hue and cry about "disorder" in Kerala is designed to provoke intervention from the central government and so end Communist rule, and to scare away new industry which the Communists are trying to attract to the state as one means of easing unemployment.

COPS INTO CITIZENS: Pretexts for the hue and cry are: 1. **Reform of the police system.** India's police were typically colonial, used to suppress democratic and popular movements, and Kerala's were among the worst. At the beck and call of the bosses and plantation managers, the police were also poorly paid (60 to 70 rupees, or roughly $14 a month) and graft was widespread. Arbitrary arrests and beatings of anyone who did not pay were common, especially in the countryside where they ruled supreme.

The new Kerala government promptly ended use of the police as a class weapon, confining their activities to tracking down crime and bringing anti-social elements to book. It re-educated the police themselves, punishing them with fines, ouster or prison for abuse. The police boss system of the countryside has already been wiped out; the police's tactful handling of the Aug. 26 demonstration against the Education Bill showed the progress.

2. **The Education Bill.** This implements recommendations of various education commissions in the past. Kerala has 11,000 schools, of which 7,000 are privately managed (1,273 are Catholic, and 747 other Christian denominations). But all teachers are paid by the government. The education bill provides that:

- The government pay the teachers directly rather than through the managements to eliminate widescale graft in management "deductions" from teachers' salaries.
- Teachers be chosen from a panel selected by the Public Service Commission—to eliminate the practice by which teachers had to pay 500 to 1,500 rupees to get jobs and by which unqualified teachers often got appointments.
- In cases of gross mismanagement, the government, after paying compensation, will take over the school's management for five years.



"CHILDREN, MANY WITH PROTRUDING BELLIES, SWARM THE LINES . . ."
Food and land and health and jobs: the problems of India

BASIC REFORMS NEEDED: The Education Bill has the overwhelming support of teachers, including many Christians—some of them Catholic—since they now have for the first time security of pay and service. Both the educational and police reforms are elementary. Basic reforms are in the offing but are inevitably limited because the state's power is circumscribed. For example:

- Kerala produces roughly 95% of India's rubber and is second only to Assam in tea production; but the plantations are largely foreign-owned and thus its major source of wealth is drained out of the country. The central government gets big revenues from this tea and rubber through various taxes but no part of this revenue goes to the state (as it does for instance in the case of jute produced in Bengal).
- The plantations remain feudal empires. One British-owned company owns a 136-square mile area including the town of Munnar where even erection of latrines by the government must have approval of the white bosses. European estate managers and their wives rattle around in luxurious and spacious "bungalows" set in expensive gardens and equipped with swimming pools and what not. Workers live in "the lines"—long sheds divided into one-room "apartments" with "verandah" and "kitchen." The rooms, always small, are windowless and totally dark; the "verandah" is little more than a name; the kitchen is a small square with a hole in the roof. No less than six or seven people, and usually more, live in one room. On one plantation I met a family of nine living in what was originally the latrine for the "line." There are no sanitary facilities and no drainage.

SCHOOLS AND HEALTH: Children, many with itches and protruding bellies, swarm in the lines almost as thickly as the flies. They seldom go to school since few plantations provide a real school. Usually the school is just a room, the teacher an illiterate, listed as a laborer on the company books and getting a laborer's pay. Plantations are supposed to provide medical care but a plantation hospital I visited consisted of two bare, not very clean rooms, some cots without mattresses, a "doctor" who had no medical training, and a midwife who assisted at births in the lines but did not visit the mother either before or after.

The Plantation Labor Act requires that decent housing be provided for workers but the central government has given the owners eight years to bring housing up to standard. The tea and rubber tycoons are waiting until 1963 and meantime are refusing housing improvement loans offered by the Kerala government.

STOPGAP MEASURES: Nationalization of the plantations would permit a tremendous improvement in the miserable lot of the plantation workers. Even more important, it would provide the state with funds urgently needed for economic development. But the central government has refused permission.

As things are, the state's power to tax is limited largely to sales taxes and agricultural income tax. With teachers' salaries eating up 37% of the revenue, and state administration another third, the amount left for economic development is small. The state, therefore, has reorganized tax rates to bring in an additional 400,000 rupees from the plantations. It is planning to streamline state administration not only to eliminate red tape and bureaucracy but to cut costs (ministers have already taken a voluntary pay cut); to step up revenues from the nationalized transport enterprises and forests. But the amount available will still be small in terms of need.

JOBS AND UNIONS: Yet the vast unemployment problem can only be eased by industrialization and Kerala has been neglected in both the first and second five-year plans. On the basis of population alone, it is entitled to at least double the allocation presently made.

By ending compulsory arbitration and facilitating settlements by negotiation and conciliation, the government has been successful in settling more than 20 long-standing labor disputes and in winning important concessions for workers. It is recognizing all existing unions, fostering "one union in one industry" (instead of the many now prevailing) and trying to unite the divided labor movement.

LAND REFORM ESSENTIAL: The government is also tackling unemployment by trying to rehabilitate existing industries. In the coir and cashew nut industries, middlemen are being replaced by cooperatives, and wages are being standardized to wipe out mushroom factories. Fishing cooperatives are also being organized since fishermen now don't own their own boats and nets and must pay about a third of each catch to middlemen as rent. The government will lend the cooperatives money to build their own nets and boats and to establish ice houses and refrigerators.

A prior condition for industrialization is land reform to create an internal market. The government had enacted a law to prevent eviction of tenants while it framed a land reform bill to be presented to the legislature next month. The bill envisages a 15-acre ceiling on land ownership and reduction of rent to a sixth of the produce. A debt relief bill, designed to eliminate the money lender and ease the burden of existing debts, is also in the works. And the government is preparing facilities for rural credit and technical and scientific improvements in the now primitive agricultural production.

All this will take hard-to-find money. But the government believes the land reform will benefit 90 to 95% of the people and basically change the structure of living in the countryside.

Maybe Grace wants to join!

CHESTER BOWLES, former efficient ambassador to India and former governor of Connecticut, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee the other day about the prime minister of Monaco who asked for $10 million of Marshall Plan aid.

"Tell us, how is the Communist problem in Monaco?" the prime minister was asked.

"We have no Communists there," he replied.

"No Communists!" said the Marshall Plan people. "How do you expect us to give you assistance? We cannot go to Congress and ask them for money for Monaco if you have no Communists."

On the way through Paris the prime minister stopped at Quai D'Orsay to see the French foreign minister. He said: "We are in great trouble in Monaco. We need money and we can't get it from America because we have no Communists. Could you loan us 1,000 Communists for the weekend who can break windows and create trouble? We can see that their pictures are taken for the newsreels in America and then we will surely get our money."

The French foreign minister is said to have stroked his beard, looked out of the window and said: "No, my friend. France would like to be a good neighbor. But we need every Communist we have."

Ambassador Bowles' point was that we should loan money not merely to prevent communism, but to win friends and preserve the peace. This was just the reverse of what Secretary Dulles told Congress recently.

—Drew Pearson in the San Bernardino (Calif.) Sun, Aug. 27

Helen Sobell on TV Oct. 11 on New York area 'Nightbeat'

FOR THOSE receiving this week's GUARDIAN by Fri., Oct. 11, here's the week's top TV highlight in the New York area:

Helen Sobell will be interviewed on **Night Beat** by John Wingate at 11 p.m., Channel 5. The interview takes place as **amicus curiae** briefs in behalf of more than 5,300 people all over the country are filed with the Supreme Court asking freedom for Morton Sobell from imprisonment in Alcatraz or a new trial for him because of prosecution frauds and illegal methods in his arrest and trial in 1951 with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for alleged atom-spy conspiracy.

Mrs. Sobell will be interviewed about the nationwide campaign for justice for her husband and her belief that the Rosenbergs, who were executed in 1953, were innocent as she knows her husband is.

UNITED NATIONS

Sputnik puts disarmament in spotlight

By Kumar Goshal

ON OCT. 5, at 5:58 p.m., the Soviet earth satellite Sputnik flashed over Washington. At that moment U.S. Secy. of State Dulles and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko were sitting in the Dulles home discussing nuclear weapons tests, general disarmament, the Middle East and other issues before the United Nations.

This unpremeditated coincidence led diplomats in Washington to believe that the move to end nuclear weapons tests would overshadow all other items on the UN agenda. They wondered if Sputnik would promote harmony by bringing the world's two mightiest nations closer to peaceful coexistence, or breed greater discord if the U.S. insisted on overcoming the Soviet missile lead before considering a halt to the tests.

The UN General Assembly sessions started harmoniously enough last month. On Sept. 26 members paid a remarkable tribute to Dag Hammarskjold by unanimously electing him to another five-year term as Secretary General. To Hammarskjold, the UN was "an instrument for negotiation among, and to some extent for, governments." He had on several occasions taken the initiative in quietly attempting to bring disputants together.

HARMONY'S END: UN members were soon at loggerheads as preliminary items came up and general debate began.

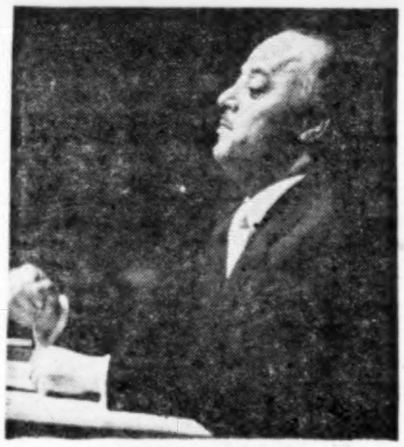
In filling three of the six non-permanent seats in the 11-member Security Council, Panama and Canada were easily elected but bitter controversy developed over Soviet-sponsored Czechoslovakia and U.S.-sponsored Japan for the seat to be vacated by the Philippines Jan. 1. Two years ago the Assembly deadlocked over Yugoslavia and the Philippines in a contest for the seat customarily allocated to an Eastern European country. It was broken when Yugoslavia agreed to resign after a year in favor of the Philippines.

Last week Japan squeezed in by a one vote margin. The vote was secret. A UN member for less than 12 months, Japan became the first former enemy country to sit in the Security Council. The U.S., anxious to prevent a Peking-Tokyo understanding and to soothe Japan's feelings over nuclear weapons tests in its neighborhood, saw a victory. The Soviet delegate denounced the selection as a violation of the Charter and the 1946 major power "gentlemen's agreement."

WHO'S NEXT? Article 23 of the Charter asked the Assembly members to pay "due regard . . . to equitable geographical distribution" in electing the Security Council's non-permanent members. In 1946, the Big Five permanent members agreed in London that two seats would go to Latin America and one each to Eastern Europe, Western Europe, the Middle East and the British Commonwealth. Washington's violation of the agreement disturbed the Latin Americans and Asians also; they wondered if the U.S. would covet their seats next.

Japan immediately declared it would press for an enlargement of the Security Council along geographical lines, to balance the increased number of UN members. It also offered a draft resolution calling for a halt in nuclear weapons tests. Similar resolutions were presented by India and the U.S.S.R. for UN discussion.

SHOPPING FOR ARMS: The Assembly took up first Peking's claim to China's seat, then Middle East issues. Despite India's eloquent plea, Peking's claim was rejected, but by a smaller margin than last year: 27 members, including Ghana, Eire and Morocco, voted in Peking's favor this year, against 24 last year.



AHMAD SHUKAIRY
The language was harsh

The most startling Assembly speech thus far came from Saudi Arabian delegate Ahmad Shukairy, who denounced U.S. policy in the Middle East; supported Syria's right to purchase arms whereever it could as "all states represented in this Assembly are engaged in arms shopping"; asserted that "the affairs of Syria are for Syria and not for the UN." "We shall refuse any discussion of the Middle East in the context of division between East and West," he said. "We shall not allow the Middle East to be plunged in any cold war of any character."

This was a blow to the U.S. delegation, which had been counting heavily on Saudi Arabian support for a resolution accusing Moscow of "indirect aggression" through arms sales to Syria. UN delegates seemed to agree off the record that the U.S. would be unable to line up Arab votes in its favor.

INDIA'S RESOLUTION: They also felt the U.S. would fail to muster the two-thirds vote necessary for Assembly endorsement of its package disarmament proposal, which it has still refused to modify. UN sentiment seems to be running in favor of a resolution like India's, which asks the Assembly to call on member states to suspend tests "unconditionally and immediately" in "the interests of humanity, present as well as future." It proposes supervision of a test ban by a five-man scientific commission—two named by the West and two by the East and a chairman nominated by both.

The **Christian Science Monitor** said (9/30): "The difficulty of the West is that it cannot give a really convincing argument against the test-ban proposals [by the Soviet Union, India and Japan] and other Asian nations who have no A-bombs but are getting their share of fall-out nonetheless." The **Monitor** felt it would "be wise for American officials at least to explore the possibility of modifying the Indian-Japanese proposals with a view toward agreeing to them." For, "balancing off gain against loss," it said, "a fairly strong case can be made for negotiating to try to make a test ban foolproof rather than simply vetoing the whole idea."

WHAT DO TALKS MEAN? There was much speculation at UN as to why Dulles invited Gromyko for an informal talk at this moment. Some thought it was a propaganda move to offset criticism of Washington's unyielding stand on the test ban and to warn the Arab nations that the U.S. could deal directly with Moscow over their heads if they proved recalcitrant. Others believed that public opinion had forced Dulles at least to exchange views with Gromyko.

Whatever the reason, the Sputnik circling the globe seemed to ensure highest priority to a discussion of a ban on the tests and on disarmament at the UN. This was especially true about the bomb tests since according to a U.S. naval scientist, the earth satellite launching meant "that the Russians must have the intercontinental ballistic missile as they claim."

Human survival may rest, as India's Krishna Menon observed, on "man's capacity not to cut off his head to save face."

IS THE PANIC WORSE THAN THE DISEASE?

Drug industry stocks soar with hysteria over the flu

THE ASIAN FLU VIRUS brought a rosy glow in some quarters last week—and it wasn't fever. **Spear's Letter,** an investor's tip sheet published by Babson Park Institute, in its Sept. 13 issue reported on the drug industry: "The year 1957 now promises to be a banner one with new records for the industry in sight for next year."

Encouraging its subscribers to invest in the six companies making the anti-flu vaccine, **Spear's** said that these firms "ARE IN A POSITION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RAPID INCREASE IN THE OUTPUT OF ASIAN FLU VACCINE WHICH COULD BE AN ADDED EARNINGS BOOSTER." (**Spear's** emphasis.)

The flu boom not only made the drug companies about the only rising stocks in a bearish market but produced a new demand for eggs which were already boosting the grocery bill of housewives. The National Drug Co., alone, **Spears** noted, uses about 250,000 eggs a week in which to cultivate flu virus for use in the vaccine.

NOT MUCH GAMBLE: The eggs used by the drug companies must be fertile, a condition which the **Wall St. Journal** noted is "produced only by hens that have tasted romance." By late summer the drug companies had created a mild stir in the eligible poultry markets.

"It's bound to be somewhat of a gamble," said F.M. Hadley, executive vice president of Eli Lilly & Co. at the start of the crash vaccine program in late August. But, like most big business ventures, this one was back-stopped by government contracts so that even if the virus failed to produce a large-scale epidemic, the companies could scarcely lose.

All through September, as mild weather persisted and the flu brought comparatively few people to bed with what turned out to be no worse than the customary fall grippe, there was an insistent note of panic in the air.

Even the pleas for calm from Surgeon General Dr. Leroy E. Burney, head of the U.S. Public Health Service, had the effect of a fire alarm. He talked of 34 million who might be stricken, of the "terrific impact," of the possibility of rising mortality rates—however mild the disease might seem to be at the start.

AN AUTHORITY DISSENTS: The excitement, luridly played up by most of the press, had the effect of insuring the drug companies their profits against any vagaries of the virus. As cool weather came to most parts of the country, sniffles seemed like dread forerunners of the pandemic.

On Sept. 27 the San Francisco Medical Society called in a group of experts, including Dr. Karl F. Meyer, an authority on epidemics and emeritus director of the Hooper Foundation at the University of California. They came out against mass immunization programs in the most crushing denunciation to date of the crisis atmosphere and the "crash" program of the drug companies.

Dr. Lowell Rantz of Stanford U. said: "If we were to give the vaccine to 1,000,000 persons across the board right now, we would have more deaths and illnesses from the vaccine than we have with the flu."

Previously, doctors had warned that the vaccine might have harmful side-effects on little children and those with an allergy to eggs or particular sensitivity to the needle. Dr. Carl Deuer of the Public Health Service in Washington called the San Francisco statement "unfortunate" and continued to press for mass vaccination.

HYSTERIA IS WORSE: Actually, other variants of flu virus have been successfully countered by specific vaccines, and no medical authority has assailed the vaccine now being manufactured as less effective than others. What the San Francisco group was saying, in effect, was that the hysteria was worse than the disease.

Dr. Donald M. Campbell, president of the San Francisco Medical Society, said: "I'd say there is a good deal of hysteria or near-hysteria. I'm giving the vaccine only to relieve the near-hysteria."

Some idea of how the demand for the vaccine was being whipped up came from a New York doctor who told the GUARDIAN that he, personally, deplored the rush for the vaccine, thinking it unnecessary. But a large manufacturing company called on him to inoculate all its employees. It meant a tidy bit of business for him. He thereupon put pressure on the drug suppliers to get the vaccine.

The incident, multiplied many times across the country, accounted for a booming demand which most doctors did not discourage because it meant business for them. For the drug companies the panic was paying off no matter how the virus was behaving.

DOCTORS KEPT HOPPING: In New York City on Sept. 30 hospital clinics reported that patients complaining of upper respiratory infections had more than tripled. Ambulance calls jumped from an average of 900 a day to over 1,500. Doctors reported a frantic spurt in house calls. In some schools in the city absenteeism was as high as 40%. Supt. of Schools Dr. William Jansen estimated that 20% of the city's 940,000 pupils and 8 per cent of the teachers were out with Asian flu.

Dr. Roscoe P. Kandle, acting Commissioner of Health, said: "The long-awaited epidemic of Asian flu has arrived. Large numbers of people are now being attacked by the Asian flu."

He added that the disease was mild, that the fever lasted only 48 hours as a rule and that many who had been stricken were already recovering.

Despite the official announcement in New York some doctors remained skeptical of the flu's qualifications as an epidemic. One disputed flu statistics, pointing out that he had 15 patients with upper respiratory disorders. Without full laboratory work he could not be certain that any of them had the Asian flu. If asked to report, he could swell the number of flu cases by 15 or else report that he had none.

London Daily Telegraph
"You'll be relieved to know that all you've got is the honest-to-goodness British brand of flu."

WHAT TO DO: The hysteria was responsible for a number of doctor and hospital calls in cases where, without the publicity build-up, families would ordinarily treat the patient successfully as in an ordinary grippe.

Where no vaccine was available—and that was throughout most of the country last week—health officials urged: Go to bed, eat lightly, use aspirin and alcohol rubs to bring down the fever; if the fever persists after two days, call a doctor. Otherwise sweat it out.

The Soviet 'moon'

(Continued from Page 1)

from the launching site and about 500 miles high.

THE BEEPS BEGIN: No engine remained with it, no machinery to guide it. At the moment it was expelled by its final booster, the antennae which had been folded about it snapped out. Inside two transmitters began sending out "beeps" to the earth.

It remains aloft by the law of inertia which says that if a thing is at rest it will stay that way until some superior force sets it in motion, and that a thing in motion will continue that way until a superior force stops it. No one knows what frictions there are in upper space to slow it down; thus no one knows precisely how long the moon may continue to spin. The Russians predict a life of at least some weeks. Some American scientists have given it months—even centuries.

It will not drop because of the earth's gravity or fly off into space because its speed is precisely set so that at that altitude gravity balances the centrifugal force.

NO ROOM FOR ERRORS: The force of the rocket is only part of the trick. It had to be controlled so that it would not rise so fast as to burn out at lower altitudes. The final rocket had to be aimed and timed precisely. An error of a fraction of a degree could set the moon on an elliptical orbit that would impair its usefulness or might bring it down. The aiming and timing was probably done by electronic controls, as in the case of a guided missile.

Once that high there was never danger of the "hunk" falling on anybody. When it re-enters the earth's atmosphere it will burn up as meteorites usually do long before they can land.

The Russians call their shiny little moon a "sputnik." "Put" means road. A "putnik" is one who hits the road—a traveler. A "sputnik" tags along with him—a fellow-traveler.

THE WORLD'S SHAPE: As moon-watchers around the world tuned into the sputnik's frequencies, scientists looked for certain specific information. Since the course will change with the configurations of the earth as gravity exerts varying forces on it, the orbit will reveal much that is unknown about the world's shape. The cosmic rays that batter the sputnik may also be recorded.

Above all, the sputnik is a trail-blazer. The Russians carefully explained that it was not properly part of the geophysical year's experiments and so they gave no advance notice of it. The next one, they said, would be bigger, contain more instruments and might be so constructed as to be brought back to earth with all the data it can collect from space.

In Moscow Prof. Kiril Stanikowich called the new moon "the first stage in interplanetary travel." He predicted that men would reach the moon "in several years" and would "soon conquer the universe."

LACK OF PRACTICE: U.S. rocket expert Willy Ley told Mike Wallace in the N.Y. **Post** that there were no more problems to be licked in reaching the moon. He said: "In general, there is just a lack of practice. We need practice in building."

Russian scientists attending the Eighth Astronautical Congress in Barcelona were quoted as saying that volunteers from the Russian armed forces were already in training for travel to the moon and back.

No one in the U.S. was prepared to discount these Russian hopes. Washington had a dismal record of belittling Soviet claims. Last July an authoritative source told reporters that the Soviet Union was far behind the U.S. in missiles; that its rocket-launching motors were "comparatively primitive" and that they were concentrating on short range weapons. U.S. experts guessed the Russians were four years behind the U.S. in the H-bomb. A few weeks later they caught up. Similar bad guesses made Russian jets a total surprise.

KHRUSHCHEV'S OFFER: The beeps of the sputnik and the roar of a new Soviet hydrogen weapon, whose successful test was announced on Oct. 7, underscored an interview Nikita Khrushchev granted to the N. Y. **Times'** James Reston. In effect Khrushchev offered to put all weapons on earth or satellites in the sky under international control if the U.S. and the Soviet Union could come to terms on co-existence. There was no cockiness in Khrushchev, Reston wrote:

"The Soviet Union might be ahead on one thing today, but the United States would have it tomorrow and vice versa, he [Khrushchev] said. It is all one and the same science, he added. Both sides, he said, are in something like a competition, but it is a harmful competition and the Soviet Union does not want it. It wants peace, he declared."

"THAT'S SPUTNIK!": When the sputnik took its place in the sky Soviet scientists were in Washington for a conference on rockets and satellites. Throughout the sessions Academician—and general of artillery—A. A. Blagonravov had said nothing. The N.Y. **Times** quoted him as saying in effect: "We will not cackle until we have laid our egg."

He was at a cocktail party at the Russian Embassy when word on the sputnik was flashed. Delightedly he asked U.S. scientists to tune in on the "moon" and at its first "beeps," exclaimed: "That is the voice. I recognize it." Later he said: "We did not consider it necessary to compete in this field. And we would be happy, no less than we are happy now, if we saw the American satellite in space."

THE SCIENTISTS: That scientific note found its echo among some U.S. scientists. Dr. Joseph Kaplan, chairman of the U.S. Natl. Committee for the International Geophysical Year, like most other Americans, was astonished not so much by the launching as by the moon's size which, he said, is "really fantastic. If they can launch that they can launch much heavier ones." He said he was "amazed that they did it in the short time they had to plan—obviously not any longer than we had. I think it was a remarkable achievement on their part." Dr. Richard Porter, prominent U.S. member of the IGY team, called it "a magnificent step forward in science."

THE POLITICIANS: The politicians calculated the moon in terms of military appropriations and the Cold War, fearing what the British press called "spy-in-the-sky."

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) said it would lead to "a stepping-up of the Cold War with the Soviets throwing their weight around more than ever." Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) called for a special investigation of the missile program, fearing "the position of the free world will be critical."

Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) said: "The time has clearly come to be less concerned with the depth of the pile on the new broadloom rug or the height of the tail fin on the new car and be more prepared to shed blood, sweat and tears if this country and the free world are to survive."

THE BIG BATTLE: The panic seemed to be brought on by appropriation fever. Whatever sputnik meant to the scientists, it was clear proof that the Russians had the power to launch not only moons but an intercontinental missile that would render obsolete the manned aircraft, the overseas base and the air raid siren. The U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force had been fighting each other for the exclusive rights to the missile program and its appropriations. Now the last battle would be on in dead earnest. The U.S. military machine was fighting with its back to the scrap heap.

It was easier, perhaps, for the Russians to take a lofty tone, but it seemed sad that few Americans could be found to greet the new era with something like the serenity of the Russian announcement:

"Artificial earth satellites will pave the way for space travel and it seems that the present generation will witness how the freed and conscious labor of the people of the new socialist society turns even the most daring of man's dreams into a reality."

THERE WAS A FAIR SPRINKLING OF BEARDS IN THE COURTROOM AT THE HOWL TRIAL

EVIL TO HIM WHO EVIL THINKS

Booksellers acquitted in S.F. censorship trial

By John G. Roberts
Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

IN THE SAN FRANCISCO police censorship trial, Judge Clayton Horn ruled on Oct. 3 that **Howl and Other Poems** by Allen Ginsberg was not obscene and acquitted the defendants, Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Shegeyoshi Murao, accused of marketing obscene matter.

The defense was handled by the Northern California ACLU; it was headed by J. W. Ehrlich, prominent criminal lawyer, who served without fee; Lawrence Speiser, former ACLU staff counsel, and his successor, Albert Bendich. Ferlinghetti, a poet and publisher of **Howl**, operates the City Lights Pocket Bookshop in which Murao, an art student, works as a clerk. The decision was roundly applauded by an audience which had packed every session of the trial.

Judge Horn's 39-page decision emphasized a point which goes beyond the literary field: Since the book **Howl** had "redeeming social importance" (making a serious comment on our society), it was entitled to the protection of the free speech and free press guarantees of the First Amendment.

ANTI-CENSORSHIP: The Supreme Court had ruled recently that obscenity is entitled to no such protection; hence it was necessary to prove that the poems, despite their salty language, were serious literary work rather than pornography. A number of prominent literary figures gave expert testimony regarding **Howl's** literary merit.

The judge plainly disapproved of the kind of irresponsible censorship which brought on the trial. San Francisco customs chief Chester MacPhee had confiscated an edition of **Howl** on the ground that it was "unfit for children." Officers of the Juvenile Bureau repeated this assertion in arresting Ferlinghetti and Murao.

Judge Horn said that, since there are no clear-cut standards for judging literature, "censorship by government should be held in tight rein." He cited an opinion by Justice Douglas expressing confidence in the ability of the American people to reject noxious literary as well as political matter.

ON 4-LETTER WORDS: Regarding the four-letter words used by the author, Judge Horn said: "The author has used these words because he believed that his portrayal required them. The people [prosecution] states that it is not necessary to use such words and that others would be more palatable to good taste.

"The answer is that life is not encased in one formula whereby everyone acts the same or conforms to a particular pattern. Would there be any freedom of speech or press if one must reduce his vocabulary to vapid innocuous euphemism? An author should be real in treating his subject and be allowed to express his thoughts and ideas in his own words."

As for those who seek out titillating passages, Judge Horn quoted from the British crest: "Honi soit qui mal y pense" (Evil to him who evil thinks).

Ferlinghetti celebrated his victory by decking out the show-window of his shop with stacks of **Howl**, which had been banned here during the trial. The book is in its fourth printing, with 10,000 copies already run off. The City Lights Bookshop sold about 500 copies the day after the verdict. Author Ginsberg is traveling in Europe.

No, John, no, John . . .

PERHAPS it is because of such instances as this that a while back when John L. Lewis met Al Hayes, head of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, he stopped to inquire genially: "Well, Al, have you found any ethical practices lately?"

—From an unsigned article in the **Industrial Worker** (IWW) Sept. 30,

Teamster election

(Continued from Page 1)

Hoffa, confident of his strength, reversed an earlier decision and ordered that the entire indictment of himself and other teamster leaders brought by the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee be read to the convention. The 64-page document took two hours and 15 minutes reading time. When it was done, the convention voted deafeningly to strike it from the official record. A motion to submit it to a teamster investigating committee was roared down. A proposal for a roll-call on the question was overwhelmed. A resolution called the indictment, based solely on testimony before the Senate committee, "one-sided" and unsupported by credible evidence. It emphasized the union's autonomy and said it would not take any outside "dictation."

AFL-CIO TOLD OFF: After this display of independence, Hoffa told reporters he was happy the convention had a chance to tell "the AFL-CIO to go to hell." He said: "I don't want anybody, from [AFL-CIO president] George Meany down, to say that any delegate here voted in the election for president without knowing what the Ethical Practices Committee said." But he added that the teamsters won't walk out of the federation.

The convention also rejected an AFL-CIO recommendation that the union hold elections at least every four years and stuck to its present practice of convening at five-year intervals. A constitutional change making removal automatic for any international officer convicted of "a crime or serious wrongdoing" was overwhelmingly defeated. Hoffa argued against it on the ground that means for removing officers already exist.

HOFFA TAKES OVER: But the constitution was amended to strengthen the area-wide system of organization by which Hoffa built up his own power within the union. All locals are now required to join their respective Regional Conferences—East, South, Midwest and Far West—with area-wide collective bargaining patterns adopted by majority vote. This makes centralized area-bargaining practically compulsory and was a defeat for adherents of local autonomy.

Outgoing president Dave Beck, first target of the Senate labor probe and now under indictment for tax evasion, was overshadowed throughout the convention by Hoffa. An earlier proposal to name him "president emeritus" was ruled out before the proceedings began, and before they were over he had agreed to step down on Oct. 15 instead of serving out his full term to Dec. 1. This means that Hoffa will take over control on the same day that he goes on trial in New York on a charge of illegal wire-tapping and pleads to a five-count indictment for perjury.

JAMES R. HOFFA
The ayes had it, including Jimmy's

WARREN RULES: Beck, reporting on his own stewardship, said that during his reign the union treasury had increased by $12,500,000 to a total of more than $38,000,000; that membership had increased by nearly 400,000, and that wages for drivers had increased by an average of 43c an hour. But secy.-treas. English bitterly criticized Beck's policy of investing union funds at an average 4% return and then borrowing from commercial lenders at a higher rate of interest to meet union operating expenses.

While the convention was in progress, a legal effort by 13 rank-and-file members to block elections on the ground that they were illegally rigged in favor of a Hoffa victory was turned down by Chief Justice Earl Warren. He pointed out that allegations in the suit had been known to the petitioners for months and even years and said that to bar an election "at this late date would call for an extraordinary exercise of judicial power that only the most compelling considerations could warrent" and that it "would indeed be drastic action."

13 WHO LOST: The group of 13 announced they would take legal action after the elections to prevent Hoffa from being installed. The convention itself went through the motions of guarding against such a move by rejecting 65 challenged delegates. Fifty others withdrew and 24 never appeared. Most delegates were embittered at the direct intervention of Senate probe chairman John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), who attempted to influence the convention outcome by wires to Hoffa opponents offering evidence of improper selection of delegates.

Most militant unionists were critical of the 13 dissidents who went to court to settle an internal union matter, but there was no protest from the top leaders of the AFL-CIO. Attorney for the 13 also raised many an eye-brow: Godfrey P. Schmidt, who represented them, is an official of the blacklisting agency AWARE, Inc. After Justice Warren's ruling, Schmidt said: "The decision emphasizes a glaring deficiency in our legal system, which Congress ought to remedy promptly."

"NEFARIOUS MENACE": Even before the convention voted, Sen. McClellan subpenaed the full records and minutes of the credentials committee. On Oct. 4 he said the vote itself was a challenge to Congress to protect union members and the public against "the nefarious menace of gangsterism and racketeer control" and that the need for legislation "is now greatly accentuated; the disreputable, corrupt and criminal elements that have infiltrated some unions must be driven out."

Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell backed him up with the observation that the teamsters' defiance makes it almost certain that "repressive labor legislation" will be adopted.

HOFFA'S SPEECH: In his acceptance speech, Hoffa said: "This international union has just come through the most vicious attack any group of workers has ever experienced. From every side, inside and outside the labor movement, we have been subjected to accusations and charges of every sort and description. Never in history has so much outside effort been exerted on the internal affairs of a free organization . . .

"Something has happened to the labor movement in recent days. I am ashamed of what I see within labor's ranks. I see men who would betray a principle to get a better headline."

He reiterated that the teamsters will fight to remain in the AFL-CIO and warned: "If these people succeed in forcing the teamsters out of the federation, and attempt to raid our organization, mark my words, and mark them well, we will be ready to defend ourselves with every ounce of strength we possess."

"THE GOOD THING": He added: "Some so-called labor leaders have fallen into a trap. They fear anti-labor legislation, and rightly so. In their fear they have been misled by bad advice to condemn so-called labor corruption more often than the union haters. It would seem to me that the leaders of organized labor should be emphasizing the good things in the labor movement. Instead, they wind up cooperating with labor's enemies. They forget that tomorrow it will be their turn to face the enemy. I hope they are able to fight back. . . . If we become too timid to fight for what is right and just, we will lose in the legislatures what we have won on the picket line."

Meany himself declared he had "no comment" on the convention outcome. But Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the carpenters union and an AFL-CIO vice president, sent a wire of congratulations to Hoffa on his victory.

SINFUL BUT FREE: The threat of anti-labor legislation and increased governmental controls over labor grew while the teamsters were still in convention. On Oct. 3, New York Gov. Averell Harriman at a press conference discussed a new special committee he has appointed to recommend added power to state agencies to cope with "labor corruption" and hinted that new legislation might be sought.

In an obvious reference to Hoffa he said: "I won't comment on any one individual. But those who are not prepared to adhere to the ethical practices of the AFL-CIO and the laws of this state had better beware of operating in this state."

He invited labor to "speak up and avail itself of this opportunity to protect itself from racketeering and criminal elements."

The governor, perhaps unwittingly, had emphasized the new theory that the strong arm of the state is ready to throw itself protectingly around labor against sinners in its own ranks.

Sinners though they may be, the teamster delegates were emphatic in rejecting the new labor-defending role of government.

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Watkins ruling tested in Barenblatt case

IN A BRIEF filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington Oct. 4, Lloyd Barenblatt, psychologist and former instructor at Vassar College, asked the court to rule on the basic issue of whether inquiry as to belief and association by a committee of Congress is in violation of the First Amendment guarantees against abridgement of the freedoms of speech and assembly. The case will be heard on Oct. 23.

Barenblatt's case was sent back to the Court of Appeals by the Supreme Court last June for reconsideration in the light of the Watkins decision.

The Barenblatt case will test the scope of the meaning of the Watkins decision.

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THE REAL HEROES

The heroes who will be remembered, in the history now being made in the South, are neither statesmen nor honored citizens; they are the "little people." The Toronto Daily Star has written eloquently of them. We reprint below excerpts from one of its articles.

MRS. GRACE LORCH will not be called to the capitol of the country to have the president of the U. S. pin the medal of honor to her dress. There will be no bands playing her up the steps of her Little Rock, Ark., home.

Instead, there will be louts to shout cowardly epithets at her and neighbors to shun her. "Nigger lover," they said when she went to comfort lonely Elizabeth Eckford, 15, who was barred from the all-white Central High School by troopers, and jeered at by a stupid mob.

There will be no medals because our system of values so rarely take account of those simple people who are really the great heroes of their time. What she did in the face of a howling, ignorant and meanminded mob might in other circumstances seem commonplace. In its own context it was greatness.

AND FOR SHEER human courage, what has a better claim to honor than these 15-year old Negro girls and boys who faced physical violence and a state's armed troops to uphold a principle? Indeed, to uphold the law of their country which ruled they could and should attend schools of their choice.

Little Rock, Ark., and Charlotte, N.C., are a long way from Toronto but neither the vileness of rooted prejudice nor the greatness of individual heroism is a thing easily isolated. It seems to me that what was done by Grace Lorch, the white woman, and the Negro youngsters who were barred and spat upon in their efforts to go to school, is a far bigger thing than the incidents of the headlines.

AFTER TERRENCE ROBERTS had been hounded from the Little Rock school grounds by loutish howls of "Go away Nigger, we don't want you," he admitted he had been scared. And he also said: "I think the students would like me okay once I get in and they get to know me." The truth is they don't deserve to know this boy who is a man; they don't deserve that honor.

There was Dorothy Counts, the Negro girl who went to school in Charlotte and stayed all day amid the nasty catcalls to give a lesson in demeanor and in courage that her cheapened persecutors wouldn't understand.

SHE AND TERRENCE ROBERTS and Elizabeth Eckford, by their very actions on this day, proved their right to every privilege their country offers. I think that principals and parents in our own country might draw attention to these courageous youngsters as a new school year begins.

No, Little Rock is not really so far away and none of us who is called white can be proud, save of Grace Lorch.

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A guide to integration

A TIMELY PAMPHLET, **A Guide to School Integration,** has just been issued by the Public Affairs Committee in cooperation with the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Assn.

Prepared by Jean D. Grambs under the supervision of a special committee on school desegregation, the Guide suggests community planning groups representing all segments of the community who are in agreement on two fundamental points:

". . . that this community is going to abide by the supreme law of the land, and that this community is not going to tolerate the tactics of outside or local hoodlums and agitators. Agreement does not have to be reached on the merits of desegregation."

The process of "enrolling in the same public school children of diverse backgrounds and differing experiences has been going on ever since America opened its first schools," Dr. Grambs points out. "The purely educational task is incomparably easier than in the days of mass immigration."

The pamphlet outlines in detail some of the practices which can contribute to better human relations in the school and out and which will make for a more effective adjustment to desegregation.

Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained for 25c from Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N. Y.

NEW YORK

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The South Today (4 sessions) ....Abner Berry
8:30 P.M. History of the Negro in the U.S.....Herbert Aptheker
TUES. (Oct. 29, Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26, Dec. 3, 10)
6:45 P.M. U.S. Labor Movement Since 1900........Philip S. Foner
8:30 P.M. The Marxist Method ....Howard Selsam
WED. (Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 13, 20, 27, Dec. 4, 11)
6:45 P.M. Boom and Bust in U.S. Economy...........Myer Weise
8:30 P.M. Social History of the Arts...............Sidney Finkelstein
THURS. (Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 14, 21, Dec. 5, 12, 19)
6:45 P.M. The Puerto Ricans in the U.S................Jesus Colon
Changing Systems: Human History........Henry Klein
8:30 P.M. The Science of Marxism ....Harold Collins
(plus other 4- and 6-session courses to begin in November)
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CALENDAR

Boston, Mass.

Anti-Smith Act Protest Meeting
Speakers: **Marke DeWolfe Howe,** Prof. Constitutional Law, Harvard
Russell Johnson
N.E. Peace Org. Sec'y of American Society of Friends
Fri., Oct. 18, 8:00 P.M.
Community Church Center
565 Boylston St. Proceeds for Defense of Mass. Smith Act Defendants. Sponsor: Mass. Civil Rts. Defense Comm.

Los Angeles

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
"INTEGRATION or DISINTEGRATION"
Speaker: **Dr. James A. Dombrowski,** Executive Director Southern Conference Educational Fund
"A First Hand Report from Little Rock, Ark." Guests: Mrs. Marnesba Tackett, chairman Ed. Comm., L.A. NAACP; Miss Jo Ann Allen, former Clinton, Tenn. high school student. Time: Friday, Oct. 18, 8 p.m. Adm. 75c. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. (just east of Vermont).

San Francisco

ABNER GREEN, Executive Secretary., American Comm. Protection Foreign Born, speaks in **San Francisco,** Oct. 18, 8 p.m., at Druids Hall, 44 Page St.; in **Berkeley** Oct. 20, 3 p.m., at Finnish Hall, 1819 10th St.

SOCIALIST ELECTION RALLY
Chairman: **WARREN K. BILLINGS**
Speakers: **VINCENT HALLINAN**
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SAVE THE DATE
40th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION U.S.S.R. Feature speakers. Report by delegates to Moscow Youth Festival. **FRIDAY, NOV. 1st,** 150 Golden Gate Av. Tickets at American-Russian Institute, UN 1-3813.

New York

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Karl Marx & Contemporary Capitalism **—Dr. Otto Nathan**
9-10:30 p.m.
WEDNESDAYS (beginning Oct. 23)
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7:15-8:45 P.M.
The Changing Face of Africa & Asia **—Kumar Goshal**
9:00-10:30 P.M.
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A RECEPTION for the Faculty of the Program of Socialist Studies will be held Sun., Oct. 13, 7 p.m., at Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 St. **Dr. Corliss Lamont,** chairman of the evening. **Memorial** tribute to **Clifford T. McAvoy,** initiator and inspirer of the socialist study program, will be delivered by **Harvey O'Connor.** Contribution $1.50.

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NEW YORK

SAT. NIGHT ELECTION RALLIES
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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATES
Sat., Oct. 12, 8:15 p.m. LILLIAN KIEZEL, Candidate for President City Council, speaks on "The Civil Rights Struggle—North & South."
Sat., Oct. 19, 8:15 p.m.—MORRIS ZUCKOFF. Candidate for Comptroller, "Socialists & the Election." **ALVIN BERMAN,** Candidate for Boro Pres., "Why Cashmore Had Me Ruled Off The Ballot."
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JOHN HOWARD LAWSON'S Los Angeles lecture series on "American Life—Yesterday and Today," will be conducted Wednesday evenings through Oct. 30 at the Ruskin Art Club, 800 So. Plymouth Blvd.

Remaining topics are: Oct. 16, "Young Hemingway;" Oct. 23, "The Changing Business Man," a discussion of **Babbit, Dodsworth** and **The Organization Man;** and, Oct. 30, "The Thirties," discussing works of O'Neill, Dos Passos, Sinclair and Hemingway and younger writers of the period such as Thomas Wolfe, John Steinbeck and Erskine Caldwell.

Admission per lecture is 90c. For further information call DU 3-4780.

THE MAIL BAG

Truthful mouthful

ERWIN, TENN.

P. A. Sorokin, Harvard's famous professor of sociology, recently reminded the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science of John Bright's words:

"If the people knew what sort of men statesmen were, they would rise and hang the whole lot of them."

Then on his own, P. A. added this truthful mouthful:

"The rulers of the states are the most criminal group in their respective populations. . . . Our own investigation of the criminality of the rulers . . . shows that one out of four of the rulers, these autocratic monarchs and dictatorial bosses of republics and democracies, has been a qualified murderer. . . . Their criminality tends to decrease with a limitation of their power, but it still remains exceptionally high. . . . In the light of these data, the most dangerous group for the whole of mankind is the group of rulers, assisted by the morally irresponsible scientists and inventors of destructive means." **Ernest Seeman**

Lest we forget

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Syngman Rhee of South Korea said in an interview on the Korean War published in the U. S. **News and World Report, August** 13, 1954, "We started the fight in the first place in the hope that Communism would be destroyed."

Now the U. S. government has decided it will equip the armed forces in South Korea with the latest "modern" weapons and institute a real buildup of armaments there. Are we to have a repetition of that sorriest episode in our history, that most incredible hoax that was ever put over on the American people, the Korean war, but this time with even more deadly and barbarous weapons? **R. M.**

Smith Act story

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

May I point out an error in your account of the five convicted Smith Act defendants in Connecticut who were recently acquitted by the Court of Appeals and are now awaiting the final disposition of their case.

You wrote that the charges against a sixth defendant, Sidney Resnick, "were dismissed" because of a hung jury. This is incorrect. The charges have not been dismissed and he is still under indictment.

Also, one further point of clarification: the acquitted defendant whose name you listed as Simon Silverman is Sidney S. Taylor and has so been known here for the past 25 years.

I should like to express our thanks to all GUARDIAN readres, particularly those in Connecticut, who have so wonderfully aided us since the start of this legal battle in May 1954. **Sidney Resnick**

Lancaster in London Express
"Don't tell me if it involves a breach of security, but just which continent had you in mind?"

Let's be selfish

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Organized labor in these United States must support the global growth of socialism, if only for selfish reasons. The world development of socialism is not only educative but demonstrable gains by it will, ipso facto, put American labor in a powerful bargaining position with their employing class. **Sam Pavlovic**

He lit up again

PASADENA, CALIF.

As a chain pipe smoker I once had no difficulty giving that up in a single day without another thought about it and staying off for about 15 years. But as I was finally convinced that my health was in no way improving thereby and, if anything, not doing any too well, I returned to the pipe and would certainly not think of giving it up. **Howard Koehl**

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for Oct. 1, 1957.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Editor, James Aronson, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Managing editor, none. Business Manager, John T. McManus, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.

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4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions upon which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of the publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 33,670.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

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My comm. expires Mar. 30, 1959.

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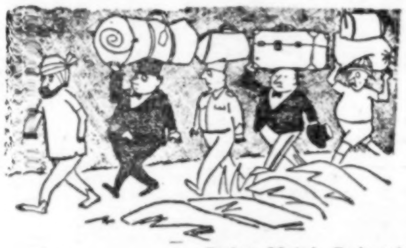
the SPECTATOR

On pronouncing Gluck

THE CONTROVERSIAL Maxwell H. Gluck was still making headlines last week. He was, it will be recalled, the heavy contributor to the Republican Party's campaign fund who was recently rewarded with the ambassadorship to Ceylon, even though he did not know the name of Ceylon's Premier and was unable to pronounce the name of India's Prime Minister.

On Oct. 2 Gluck stirred another storm as he paid a courtesy call to Ceylon's Education Minister Dahanayake, reportedly without notifying him beforehand. Dahanayake at first refused to see Gluck, but was persuaded by his secretary to do so. He told the ambassador that, to him, courtesy calls were meaningless and foreign embassies "merely appendages to modern civilization." They had been no help to his department and he didn't mean "to go with a begging bowl to them." Gluck took the rebuff wth grace, saying: "You may be surprised, but I entirely agree with you."

SENSITIVITY IS HIGH: Handing out ambassadorships as patronage to wealthy contributors is not an innovation in the history of American political parties. Gluck seemed to be a goat because he landed among Asians who have recently won their freedom and expect to be treated with respect and consideration. They resent Washington's throwing its weight around militarily, politically and economically.



Ludas Matyi, Budapest
Nightmare of colonialism

As though Secy. of State Dulles' periodic bumbles were not damaging enough, Washington seems also to have been incredibly awkward in its choice of Asian embassy personnel. At last summer's Intl. Press Institute sessions in Amsterdam, while American generosity received fulsome praise, U. S. policy and personnel came in for some sharp criticism by Asian editors and by a visiting Indian diplomat.

C. E. L. Wickremesinghe of the Colombo newspaper **Dinamina** told about a U. S. press officer who strode into an Asian editor's office and threatened to punch him. The reason: the paper had printed an allegation that the U. S. ambassador had tried to bribe nationals of that country for information.

A LOOK AT HIS WATCH: The charge had been made on the floor of the country's parliament and was, therefore, privileged and newsworthy material. The editor, who happened to be a big fellow, looked at his watch and said to the intruder: "If you don't get out of here in two minutes, I'll throw you out, bodily."

Wickremesinghe also cited the case of another U. S. press officer who, prior to the arrival of Vice President Nixon in one Asian country, ordered that no newspapermen could cover the arrival at the airport without clearance by the U. S. embassy. Both press officers were reported to have been relieved of their posts.

The Indian diplomat, asked what the West could do to promote better East-West understanding, said: "The West can prove its interest in Asia's welfare only by action." Then he gave some examples of Western—and especially American—views that Asians found unacceptable.

HOW TO GET A TRIP: "The American view," he said, "that any power which questions America is automatically an enemy and is Communist-branded is [a] bit of terribly misguided diplomacy. It leads to a very strange kind of corruption.

"In India, for instance, a number of people have developed a new technique for taking a trip to the U. S. They begin by protesting, say, in a letter to a newspaper, actions by the Soviet Union. With the appearance of a second letter on the same subject, the person is invited to the American consul's office. After the third letter, he is invited to go to America. Meanwhile, the person may have done this letter-writing with his tongue in his cheek."

Referring to the U. S. attitude—even when being generous—of "Uncle Sam knows best," the Indian said: "You go about pretending you know all, are the acme of wisdom, are right. This egotistical idea that you represent light and the other fellow represents darkness is the thing that gets our goat in Asia."

He said that the economic aid given some Asian countries has been "canalized" in such a manner that the rich in these countries were getting richer and none of it was seeping down to "those that should be receiving the aid."

"Money never bought a man's mind," he added.

—**Kumar Goshal**

Readings and discussion of modern novels

ROUND Table Review, conducted Tuesday evenings at 8:30 at the Master Institute, 310 Riverside Drive (103d St.), New York City, has presently scheduled readings and discussions of three provocative modern novels, Gerald Green's **The Last Angry Man** on Oct. 15; Meyer Levin's **Compulsion**, Nov. 12; and Simone de Beauvoir's **The Mandarins**, Dec. 17.

The **Review** is produced by John Randolph and Phoebe Brand. Participants also include Ruby Dee, Ludwig Donath, Paul Sparer and Dr. Frederic Ewen. Subscription to three evenings is $4. Tickets for single evenings are $1.50.